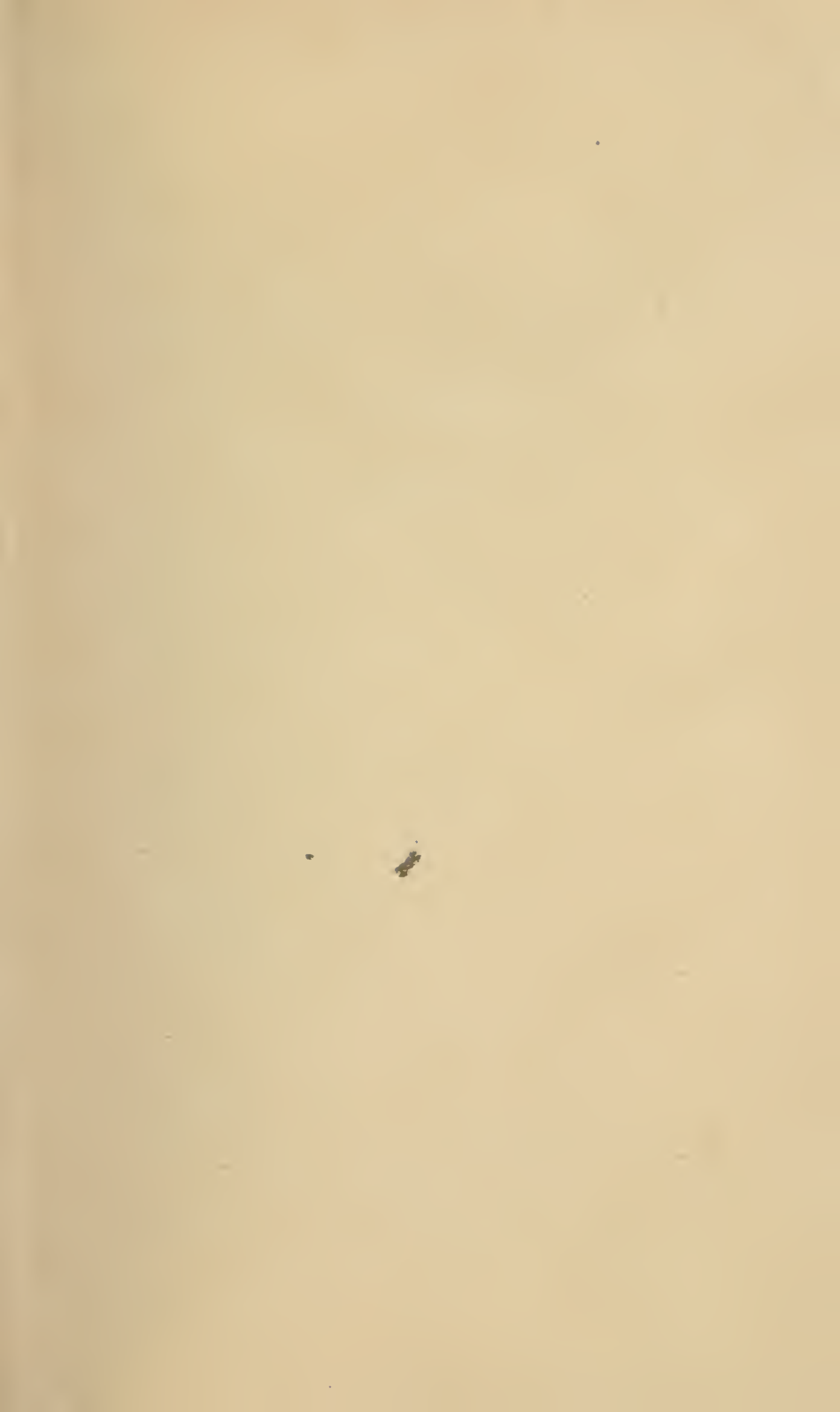


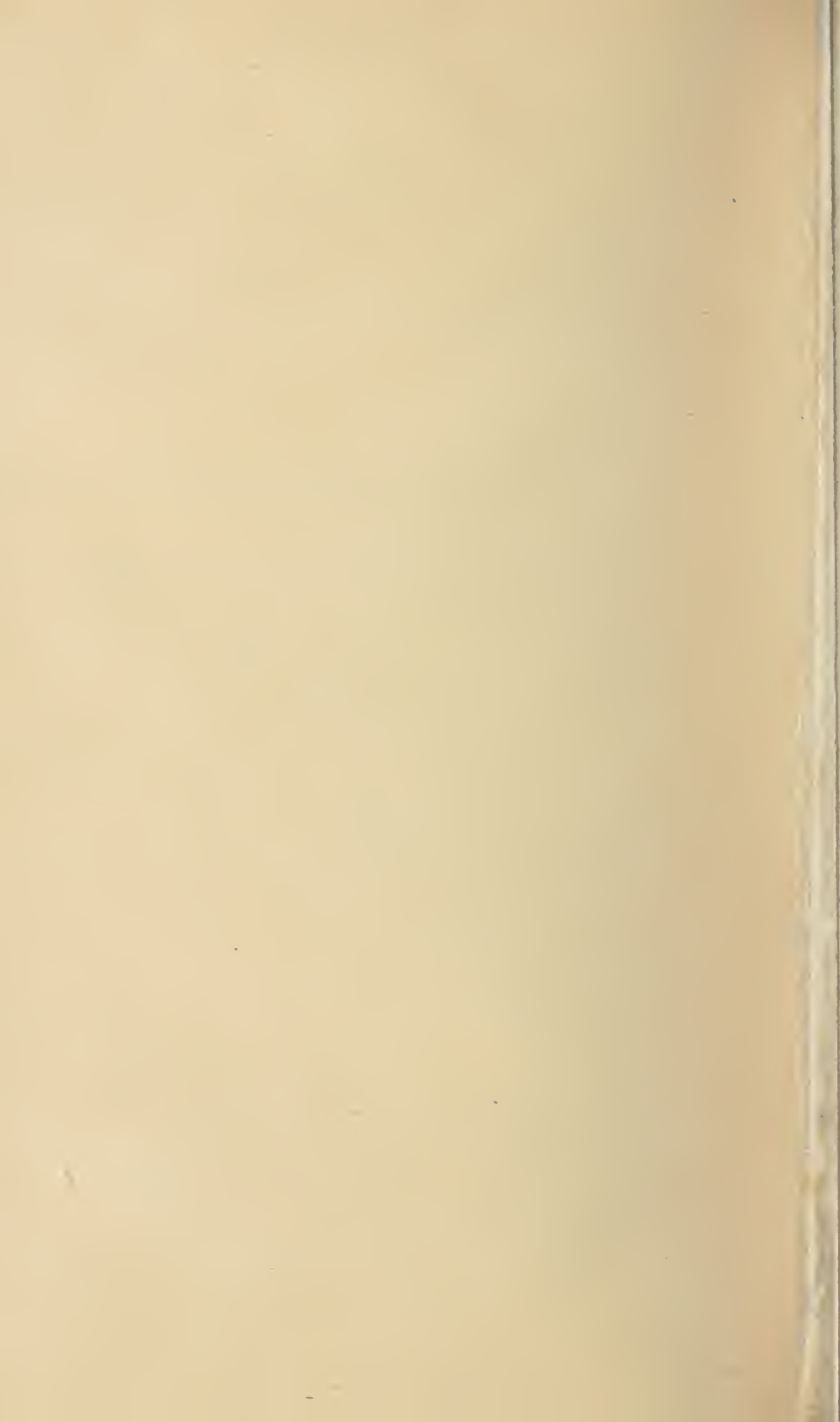
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A
LETTER

TO A
Certain Foreign Minister;

IN WHICH THE
GROUNDS of the PRESENT WAR
are truly Stated:

THE
CONDUCT of the last ADMINISTRATION in
Regard to FOREIGN AFFAIRS
fully Vindicated;

AND THE
TERMS of a SAFE and HONOURABLE
PEACE clearly pointed out.



L O N D O N :

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

WHEN his *Prussian* Majesty thought fit, in a Time of full Peace, to invade the Dominions of the Queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and thereby rekindle the War in *Germany*, which was otherwise on the point of being extinguished ; a Paper was published here under the Title of, *An Exposition of his Motives*, to which the first Part of the following Work was written in Answer, and had very probably on the

A 2

Turn

Turn of Affairs that has followed since, have been buried in Oblivion, had it not plainly appeared that some of the Notions insisted upon in that Foreign Performance, were really considered as Articles of their Political Faith, by some of our greatest Politicians at Home. It was this that induced the Author to finish it, and consent that it should be made Publick, as a full Answer to those new Doctrines, that to please the Patrons of them are now preached up, as sound Policy in a certain Chapel.

The Humour of abusing such, as are intrusted with the Management of Publick Affairs is, generally speaking, so strong in this Country, that it is a very difficult Matter in less than fifty or sixty Years after a Man is out of Power, to persuade the People that ever he deserved to be in ; more especially if from the
Consciousness

Consciousness of his own Integrity, he never practised the usual Arts of Ministers, never courted the Populace at the Expence of his Understanding and Dignity, or endeavoured to acquire an Interest elsewhere, but by deserving it. All Ministers are sure to be ill-treated, but that Minister most who least deserves it, because when he leaves his Post, he leaves no Party to cry him up, or to defend his Conduct. He who has been anxious only for the Service of his Country, is careless in this Respect, or rather fearless, for he knows, that however Self-interested Men may abuse, they can never hurt him. He is sensible that Time and Truth are Witnesses, that sooner or later acquit the Innocent; but though this may be sufficient for such a Minister, yet there is something more required for the Information of the People, and that for the People's sake.

To

To afford this Information, the following Sheets have been drawn from the Corner of a Closet into Daylight ; and that the Design of them may not be mistaken or misrepresented, let it be remembered that they are calculated for the full Proof of the following Propositions. I. That the present is a National and not a Party-War ; a War recommended to the Throne by the Voice of the People, and which therefore no Nation that would be thought wise, or wishes to continue free, would charge as a Crime upon a Minister, when in Truth it is a Measure in which they may and ought to glory themselves, as it is strictly speaking their own.

II. That this War was not the Effect of hasty Resentment, but begun upon mature Deliberation and upon just Motives, of which the
Nation

Nation was the more easily and fully convinced, because those Motives were National; that is to say, were such as redounded to the Interest and Honour, to the Safety and Glory of the Nation. A War thus begun, ought undoubtedly to be prosecuted with the same Spirit and Zeal, and upon the same Motives upon which it was begun, since to vary or depart from these, would be to confess an Unsteadiness or Pusillanimity, unworthy of a brave and free People.

III. That all Pretences of prosecuting the War on a new Design, and for better Purposes, are very dangerous and ought to be suspected, inasmuch as such Pretences are evidently calculated to deceive the People to betray the common Cause, and to introduce a new System not fit to be openly avowed, because it never can upon Just and National Principles be defended. It is for
this

this Reason, for I defy any Man living to assign another, that our present, upright, wise and able Ministers, have in the most solemn Manner, and in the most express Terms, declared by Memorials presented at several Courts, that no Alteration of Men will be attended here with a Change of Measures ; which is so clear, so full, and so unanswerable an Approbation of the Principles laid down and supported in the following Sheets, that there seems to be no Reason to apprehend their being ill received by any Party.



A

LETTER

TO A

CERTAIN MINISTER.

S I R,

I Cannot think that you will be displeased with the Liberty I take of addressing to you this Discourse on the present State of the Affairs of *Europe*, when I reflect on the many Liberties that have been taken, not with the Ministry only, but with the Crown of *Great-Britain*, by Papers and Pamphlets published abroad and at home too of late ; as if some imperceptible Change had happened in our Constitution, and foreign Princes and States had acquired a Right to appeal from the Judgment of a King of *Great-Britain*, to that of the *British* Nation. It is highly requisite, Sir, that a Point of this Importance should be set in a clear Light. The Zeal express'd in a late Rescript, and in the

B

Paper

Paper annexed thereto, with regard to the *German* Constitution, must serve for my Apology, if any Warmth should escape me in Defence of our own.

The sudden Turn taken by his *Prussian* Majesty, did, indeed, give such an Alarm to all *Europe* in general, and to this Nation in particular, that there is no reason to wonder it should be thought expedient to soften the first Emotions of Men's Minds by as plausible a Method as could be contrived; and, perhaps, in the Exposition of his Majesty's Motives for taking that extraordinary Step, this was pretty well done. But sure it was through an excess of Caution that these Motives were ushered into the World by another Piece, which in its Title is directed to a publick Minister, and, in the Body of it, to the People of *Britain*. I say this was done through an excess of Caution, first, because the thing was plainly unnecessary; for if the Exposition of his *Prussian* Majesty's Motives was sufficient to shew that they were just and unexceptionable, there was no need of this additional Lecture to the People of *Britain*: And, on the other hand, if any Doubt was entertained as to the Effects of that Exposition, the very Rescript itself carries in it a Contradiction, which shews how much Men are embarrassed when they do unwarrantable things.

For, mark me, Sir, this Rescript in the Original, (for as to the Translation it is never *English*, and very seldom Sense) makes his *Prussian* Majesty argue thus, “ As no Prince in *Ger-*
 “ *many* has any Right to intermeddle with the in-
 “ terior Measures of *Great-Britain* and the Con-
 “ stitution of its Government, I have Reason to
 “ hope that the *English* Nation will intermeddle
 “ as

“ as little with the domestick Affairs of the
 “ Empire, nor will oppose the Efforts that I,
 “ in Conjunction with other well-meaning Powers
 “ in the Empire, am resolv’d to employ, for pre-
 “ serving and maintaining the Dignity of our
 “ Head, the Respect due to the Laws and Consti-
 “ tution of our Country, and the Rights and Pre-
 “ rogatives of its Members.” Now, Sir, I beseech
 you to consider how the Principle laid down in
 the first Line I have quoted agrees with this Re-
 script. If in his *Prussian* Majesty’s Judgment
 no *German* Prince whatever has a Right to in-
 termeddle with the interior Policy of *Britain*,
 what Right had his Minister to publish this Ap-
 peal to the People? Is not this intermeddling
 with the interior Measures of *Great-Britain*? Is
 it not questioning, I was going to say, overturn-
 ing our Constitution? Is it not exciting the Peo-
 ple against their Prince? Surely you must con-
 fess it is, when you consider the Lines that im-
 mediately follow. “ I the rather flatter myself,
 “ continues the King, that *England* will not in-
 “ terfere, because she has no Reason to meddle
 “ in this Quarrel, either from the CONSIDERA-
 “ TION OF HER COMMERCE, or otherwise; and
 “ tho’ she may have a greater Biass towards one
 “ Court in *Germany* than another, I think her too
 “ reasonable to pretend that Princes so powerful
 “ and so worthy of Respect as those of the
 “ Empire are, should be obliged to conduct
 “ themselves according to the Inclinations of
 “ those of the *English* Nation, who are for
 “ forcing their Countrymen to enter into foreign
 “ Quarrels that regard not *Great-Britain* either
 “ in black or white.” As to the peculiar Beauty
 of the last Phrase, I confess it is lost with
 me; but so it stands in the Original, and the

whole Force of the Argument amounts to this, that great things are hoped from the *English* Nation's discovering a Sense of foreign Affairs directly opposite to those of the King and his Ministers as advised by Parliament. It is a very unlucky Consequence of our most unhappy Divisions, that Foreigners, by attending to our Party Disputes, are misled into wrong Notions about our Constitution. They hear us talk of the People of *Britain* and of the *British* Nation, by which we certainly mean no more than in a legal Sense, the Choice of the People in their Representatives, and the Sense of their Representatives expressed in Parliament; whereas they apprehend we mean the collective Body of the Nation, the Voice of the Crowd, and the Opinion of all who think fit to speak of publick Affairs. We in *Great-Britain* know that there is a wide Difference between the Republick of *Poland* and the *British* People. We know that our Government is a Monarchy, that the Administration of the Government is vested in the King and the Legislature too, in Conjunction with the Lords and Commons. We know that the *British* Nation, in any other than this legal Sense, is a vague Expression, frequent indeed in the Mouths of Parties who love to speak much when they mean nothing; but surely the Wretch does not breathe in *Britain*, who dares to wish that the Sense of the *British* Nation should ever be set up in Contradistinction to the Sense of the King and Parliament, and whoever shall attempt to introduce, or give Colour to such a Distinction, will certainly intermeddle with the Constitution to his Cost, and be soon taught to know that this Kingdom is not governed by the floating Opinions of the Many; but by settled Laws, which were the Rules

Rules that governed our Ancestors, and by Obedience to which, we and our Posterity are to be made happy.

I thought my self obliged, Sir, to speak thus plainly, that you might really know the Sense of every rational Man in *England* on this Subject ; for I dare assure you, that none who have read that Rescript approve at all of this manner of proceeding. They very well know, and would be ready to avow it, that they expect Ministers should be accountable to the People, even for Measures directed by their Master ; but when they say this, they know their own Meaning ; they know that this Account is to be given to those with whom the Power of the People is lodged, and this in Consequence of a legal Procedure. It is also true that in some Sense a Parliament may be said to be accountable to the People, because on a Dissolution they are free to regulate their Choice according to the Sense they have of their Representatives Conduct. But it is very clear that this Rescript is an Appeal to the Nation under none of these Restrictions. It appears from the Paragraph last quoted, that this is an Appeal to one Part of the Nation against the other. And what is this other ? Why, those who are biassed more in favour of one *German* Court than another : That is, in plain *English*, the House of Commons, who have so often addressed the King to support the House of *Austria*, and who have given such large Sums to his Majesty to enable him to comply with their Requests.

This is the fair and true State of the matter, and indeed it is of such high Consequence to us, that it ought to be fairly stated. As to the Insinuation that the Quarrels in *Germany* have nothing

thing to do with our Commerce, there is something in it extremely injurious to the Nation. That we receive great Benefits from Trade, that Trade is a National Concern, and that we ought to resent any Attempt made to lessen or to injure it, are Truths well known and out of dispute, yet sure the *British* People are not to be treated like a Company of Merchants, or rather Pedlars, who, if they are permitted to sell their Goods, are to think themselves well off, whatever Treatment they may receive in any other respect. No surely, the *British* Nation has other great Concerns besides their Trade, and as she will never sacrifice it, so she will never endure any Insult in respect to them, without resenting it as becomes a People jealous of their Honour, and punctual in the Performance of their Engagements.

It has, indeed, been the Artifice of *France* to represent the Maritime Powers in this Light to all the World, and to each other. In the Language of that haughty Court, *France*, like old *Rome*, is to be the Mistress of the World, and the *English* and *Dutch* are to think themselves happy if she does not disturb their Markets, but lets them enjoy the Fruits of their Industry, while they truckle to her Power, and are subservient to her Schemes. Let any Man but read the Letters and Negotiations of *Van Hoey*, and he will be satisfied as to the Truth of this. He will see that the *French* Ministers treat him, as if instead of being an Ambassador from a great and powerful State, he was a Factor for a Company of Merchants, who had no Subsistence but their Trade, and were obliged to mind that at the Expence of every thing else. Upon this Principle all their Reasonings turn ; they tell him
that

that in case of a joint War with *France, England* may beat *Holland* out of a Part of her Trade ; but if *Holland* will keep out of the Scrape, she may have all the Trade to herself. He may see that when Mr. *Van Hoey* represented this Sort of Stuff to his Masters the States General, it was understood and treated by them with the Contempt it deserved ; they resented, as became them, the Indignity of such a Treatment ; and shewed that they had a Spirit worthy the Sovereigns of a free Republick, supported indeed by Trade ; but at the same Time possessed of a Power capable of defending the Rights of their Subjects, and of assisting those Allies, by whose Aid in other critical Conjunctions, they had been supported themselves, when not their Commerce only, but their very Being was in danger from the Ambition of this arrogant Power, that now talks and teaches other People to talk, as if the Maritime Powers had nothing to mind but their Trade, and their Subjects had a Right to call the Government to account, if they did not confine their Care solely to this Subject. But, alas ! how widely are they mistaken ! who takes a larger Share in the War than our Merchants, and what greater Benefit can result to our Commerce, than by rendering that Authority respected abroad to which it owes its Protection at home ?

This odd Interjection of Commerce in this Place, plainly shews the Design for which this Piece was calculated, which must be to move the meanest and the lowest of the People, with whom Sound prevails more than Sense, and who affect to be ever anxious about Trade, how little soever it may concern them. As for those who are really engaged in foreign Trade, they are
not

not to be imposed upon by such Pretences; they are convinc'd that the Safety of Commerce depends upon the Figure this Crown makes in Comparison with the other Powers of *Europe*; and a very laudable Proof they gave of their having this just Notion of things, by the Pains they took to drive the late Ministry into a War with *Spain*, and where there is the same Reason, the Conclusion ought to be the same likewise. If the Safety of Trade depends upon the Figure and Credit of the Nation, then whatever Attacks the latter, tends to the Prejudice of the former; but if the House of *Austria* is overborne, our great Rival in Power and in Trade, by which I mean *France*, must carry all before her, and therefore whatever contributes to the preventing this, contributes so far to the Security of our Trade; and this, I think, is a fuller Answer than was even necessary to so foolish an Objection.

I must, however, admit that there is some Foundation for what is suggested in the Memorial, as to the Bias of the *British* Nation in favour of the House of *Austria*; for surely if ever there was the Opinion of a whole Nation given on such a Point, every Part of the Nation has, at several Times, declared itself fully upon this Subject. The late Ministry always declared it to be their Intention to assist the House of *Austria*, and often complained of their Want of Power to second that Inclination. These Declarations, however, did not screen them from the Resentments of those who thought there was not so much done for the Support of the Queen of *Hungary* as her Circumstances, and the Interests of *Great-Britain* required, and every Body knows
that

that it was chiefly by the pressing this Tropick that Ministry was overturned.

All who were then in the Opposition were unanimous in their Sentiments that our whole Force ought to be exerted, not only in pursuance of Treaties, but in pursuance of the Publick Welfare ; and it is fresh in every Man's Memory, that the first Step taken upon the Change was to send the Earl of *Stair* abroad with Instructions to inform the *Dutch*, that we were determined to succour that Princess effectually, and expected therefore the same from them. I have been now a close Observer of publick Affairs for upwards of twenty Years, and I do not remember any Measure received with greater, or even with so great Applause as this. It may be objected, and I believe with Truth, that some People have argued in publick Assemblies, as if they had since changed their Minds ; but this Objection does by no means reach the present Ministry, they have steadily pursued in Power the Plan they recommended when out, and in this they have shewn themselves to be steady and able Men ; and as for those who have changed, their Motive is very plain, since without opposing this Measure, they could not oppose at all, and by opposing they have plainly lost their Credit with the People, as it is natural for Men to do, who, from Motives of private Interest, contradict themselves. This, Sir, is a fair State of the Case, and if his *Prussian* Majesty has received any Intelligence of another Nature, he has been so far deceived ; and this, like many other Mischiefs, ought to be placed to the Account of our Party Disputes, to which if any foreign Court trusts, it will be sure to be misled, since the Sentiments of the Nation are not to be sought for

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among

among Pamphlets and News Writers, but from the Resolutions of the House of Commons, which is at once the natural and legal Representative of the People.

This Method, Sir, of which his *Prussian* Majesty is pleased to make choice, of rendering the Publick the Judge of his Proceedings, is such a one as certainly gives every Man who has competent Talents, a Right to examine the Question. I must own that I thought it a Piece of Respect due to so great a Prince, and in addressing myself to you, I aim at nothing more than shewing you what most People think of the Reasons his Majesty gives for acting in the manner he has done. If I had been singular in my Sentiments, if I had heard Numbers declare themselves of another Mind, I should most certainly have been silent; but perceiving that the the rest of my Countrymen thought as I did, and observing how great a stress his *Prussian* Majesty is pleased to lay on the Sense of the *British* Nation, I really conceived that I could not better testify the Respect I have for that wise and powerful Monarch, than to take this Opportunity of transmitting to you the Sense of the *British* Nation upon this important Topick. It was a natural thing, on the Publication of such a Rescript, to expect it; the foreign Gazettes say that 2000 of these have been distributed, and that one out of 2000 should take the liberty of speaking again, has nothing in it at all strange; but on the contrary, seems to answer the Design of that Piece, or at least of the Publication of it, and that too by the Order of the *Prussian* Minister, as expressed in the Title Page. I have one thing more to add, and that is, that I write purely from my own Motives, and not by any Order whatever. I
express

express freely the genuine Sentiments of an un-biassed *Englishman*, and therefore, Sir, I hope you will hear me with Patience at least, if not with Favour, especially since I shall be careful to say nothing that deviates from the Respect due to so great a Prince, who expressly desires to have his Actions examined, and the Motives to them scanned.

The two chief Points upon which this Controversy turns is the Conduct of the Queen of *Hungary* towards the Emperor, and the Conduct of *Great-Britain* towards the Queen of *Hungary*. If the former of these can be justified from the Law of Nature, Nations, and the Empire; if it can be proved that the Queen has done nothing but what she had a Right to do, what she was constrained to do, and what would have had a Tendency to hurt not herself only, but the Empire, if it had been omitted, then shall we undoubtedly get rid of this Part of the Charge, that the Pride, Ambition, and private Views of the House of *Austria* are the Causes of the present Troubles in *Germany*; and this being done, it will follow, that the Prince who has recourse to Arms for so noble, so generous a purpose as the restoring Peace to his long harrassed Country, will effect it by turning his Arms on those who are really the Authors of the War. In the next place, if we shew that *Great-Britain* has not assisted the Queen of *Hungary* from any particular Views of her Prince, or from any ill-grounded Partiality of her People; but in Support of her own Interest, and in consequence of the Faith of Treaties founded on that Interest, we shall then have overturned the second Part of the Charge, and thereby free ourselves from the Imputation of intermeddling, without just Cause.

with foreign Quarrels that do not concern us, and establish a Point which concerns us very nearly, *viz.* that what we have done for the Queen of *Hungary*, and what we shall do for her, though it turns immediately to her Service, turns at the same time, as much to ours, and is, in reality, no more than we are bound to do, not only in virtue of Treaties, but out of regard to our own Safety and Preservation.

It is a Principle founded in common Sense, admitted by *Grotius*, *Puffendorf*, and all other able Writers on the Law of Nature and Nations, that all Government is founded on the Welfare of the People, that for this purpose they submit to such Constitutions as seem to them most suitable to the Attainment of that End, and that herein consists the Right of Dominion. The *Germanick* Constitution is nothing more than a Confederacy of Princes and States, which, from their entering into that Confederacy, are stiled the *Germanick* Body, for the Preservation of the respective Forms of Government under which they live, and upon which they conceive their Happiness to be founded. It is this that renders an inviolable Regard and a sincere Attachment to that Constitution, Patriotism in *Germany*. It is this that renders any Attempt, not only to overturn and destroy, but to alter or change that Constitution, Treason in *Germany*. It was a just Sense of the Expediency, and even Necessity, of having a powerful Prince at the Head of this Confederacy, capable of supporting them in their Rights. by defending their Constitution against the Incroachments of Strangers, that induced them to continue the Imperial Dignity so long in the House of *Austria*, as it is very certain that the Power of the House of
Austria,

Austria, especially in the last Century, has been chiefly employed in maintaining and preserving, as far as it was able, the Dominions of the lesser Princes of *Germany*, from the Inroachments of an ambitious Neighbour, always watching and constantly improving every Opportunity to aggrandize itself at their Expence, as appears from the many Cities and Provinces that have been torn from the *Germanick* Body, and at this Juncture are, and for a long Time have been, annexed to the Dominions of *France*.

The same Spirit of Ambition, the same Lust of Power, the same Desire of making all her Neighbours subservient to her Will, induced the *French* Monarchs of the House of *Bourbon* to disturb the Peace of the rest of their Neighbours, and to endeavour, by Methods the most unjust and indefensible, to lessen their Power, in order to exalt her own. It was this Sense of common Danger, and Desire of providing for their own Safety by a strict Union amongst themselves, that induced many of these Powers to ally themselves with the House of *Austria* and with the Empire; from whence arose the great Concern of many of the principal Powers in *Europe*, as well as the Empire in general, for the Support and Maintenance of the Power of that Family: Experience had shewn that nothing but the Power of the House of *Austria* employed in Defence of the Empire, could have preserved many of its Princes and States from being swallowed up by the Power of *France*, which by the *Germanick* Body could be no other way considered, than as a Dissolution; and a Mortification in the Political Body, like that in the Natural, being begun in the Members, must, by a certain Progression, have soon reached the
Vitals.

Vitals. Experience had likewise shewn, that the other Powers of *Europe* had the greatest need of the Concurrence of the Empire as it was then constituted, that is to say, with a powerful and well-affected Prince at its Head, for the Preservation of their Freedom and Independency ; and hence resulted that Concern which both the Empire and other Powers of *Europe* shewed for the Preservation and Support of the House of *Austria*; that is, the conserving all the Dominions in the actual Possession of the late Emperor *Charles VI.* of glorious Memory, to his Heir, which was the Point aimed at by the Pragmatick Sanction, or Domestick Law of the Family, laid down by his Imperial Majesty then reigning.

The Pragmatick Sanction was made by the late Emperor *Charles VI.* in the Year 1713; in the Years 1724 and 1725, he caused it to be published and accepted in all his hereditary Dominions ; and in the Year 1731, he communicated it to the Diet of the Empire ; declaring at the same Time, that as the Treaty he had lately made with his *Britannick Majesty*, in a great Measure secured the Ballance of *Europe*, so there wanted only a Resolution of the Diet in Support of the Pragmatick Sanction, to place that and the Tranquility of the Empire on the most solid Foundation. His Imperial Majesty, at the same Time asserted, “ that it was in order to arrive
 “ at so salutary an end, that he had thought fit
 “ to communicate to the Diet, in order to obtain their Guaranty, the Order of Succession
 “ in the most illustrious House of *Austria*, from
 “ an entire Confidence that as hitherto the Power
 “ of the House of *Austria* had served as a Bulwark to all Christendom, had always defended, against every Aggressor, the Liberty of
 “ *Europe*,

“ *Europe*, and particularly that of their dear
 “ Country, his Imperial Majesty did not doubt
 “ but every State of the Empire would readily
 “ acknowledge, that on the preserving intire and
 “ indivisible this Power, depended not only the
 “ Security of *Europe* in general, but also the
 “ Welfare and Safety of the Empire in particu-
 “ lar. His Imperial Majesty says farther, “that
 “ it was not with any View to aggrandize his
 “ Archducal House, that he communicated this
 “ Decree, but merely to preserve to his Heirs
 “ and Descendants, of both Sexes, his Domini-
 “ ons and hereditary Countries undivided, and
 “ that he expected this would meet with the less
 “ Opposition, because this Order of Succession
 “ was founded upon solemn Acts and Settlements
 “ in the illustrious House of *Austria*, already ap-
 “ proved by the Empire, and guaranty’d by
 “ the chief Powers abroad, and by most of the
 “ principal Potentates in the Empire.” His
 Imperial Majesty concludes with observing, “that
 “ this Guaranty, instead of exposing the Em-
 “ pire to any Inconvenience by engaging in its
 “ Defence, would prove the only means of pre-
 “ venting those Disturbances that must other-
 “ wise naturally arise in relation to that Suc-
 “ cession, and in which they would be obliged
 “ to take part whether they would or not.”

I am very sorry that I am obliged to make so
 tedious a Recital to you, of a Thing with which
 you must be so well acquainted; but there pre-
 vails of late so strange a Humour of forgetting
 what ought to be best remembered, denying
 Facts notoriously known, and misrepresenting
 whatever makes against People, that I am oblig’d
 to be more explicit than I otherwise would. I
 cannot help observing to you, that this Decree
 shews

shews the Wisdom and Foresight of the Emperor, as well as his paternal Care for the Welfare of his Country. His Wisdom appears in framing the Pragmatick Sanction ; his Foresight in perceiving that the Debates about this Succession would embroil the Empire and all *Europe* ; his Care and Tendernefs in exhorting them to adhere steadily to this Guaranty, as the only means of avoiding and preventing these Mischiefs. The States of the Empire were so well satisfied of the Truth of what his Imperial Majesty suggested to them, that they readily consented to what his Majesty desired of them.

In their Act of Guaranty they say, that being sensible “ that the preserving the Dominions of the House of *Austria* undivided, “ was the only means of preventing the unhappy Divisions, Wars, and Effusion of Blood “ that must necessarily happen in case the Emperor’s Dominions were separated, and were “ capable of setting all *Germany* in a Flame, “ they, after mature Deliberation upon this important Affair, and all the Circumstances attending it, resolved to thank his Imperial Majesty for his paternal Care, in endeavouring to prevent so many Mischiefs, and for securing the Honour and Safety of the Empire, “ and therefore take upon them the Guaranty as he had demanded, agreeable to the second “ Article of the Treaty of *Vienna*, by which “ his *Britannick* Majesty took upon him the same Guaranty, which second Article is therein at length recited, and immediately after “ the Words of this solemn Act of the Diet of the Empire are, We by these Presents consent thereto, accepting it entirely, and declaring “ that we will defend this Order of Succession “ so

“ so as it is there established, against all who
 “ shall oppose or trouble it; and will employ,
 “ for that effect, whenever it shall be requisite,
 “ all our Forces, and whatever shall be necessary
 “ for the Maintenance and Execution of this
 “ Guaranty of the Empire.” This Resolution
 his Imperial Majesty most gratefully, as well as
 graciously, received, as appears by his Confirmation
 dated at *Ratisbon*, *Feb.* 4. 1732. and signed
 by the Prince of *Furstenbourg*, his Imperial Ma-
 jesty’s Commissary to the Diet.

It is visible, Sir, from hence, that if the In-
 terests of *Germany* are at all understood by the
 Diet of the Empire, or if foreign Powers are to
 give any Credit to the most solemn Acts of that
 illustrious Assembly, the Pragmatick Sanction,
 and the Rights of the Queen of *Hungary* to all
 and every Part of the late Emperor’s Dominions,
 are to be considered as inviolable, and protected
 by an authentick Law of the Empire, grounded
 on the known Principles of its Laws, and the
 general Interest of all its Princes and States.
 This, Sir, I say, is a thing rendered indisputa-
 ble by the Acts which I have cited; for if after
 them any Doubt could be admitted in this Case,
 every Man of common Sense must perceive that
 there must be an End of all Certainty. If a
German Prince, or if several *German* Princes
 concurring in the Assertion that this or that is for
 the Interest of *Germany*, ought to persuade fo-
 reign Nations that so it really is, then, surely,
 so solemn a Testimony as this is of the Sense of
 all the Princes and States of the Empire, that
 the preserving the Succession of the House of
Austria whole and undivided, is of the utmost
 Consequence to the Safety and Preservation of
 the *Germanick* Body, is the fullest Evidence that

either *German* or *Stranger* can require. This is so clear, so full, so much incapable of being subverted or overturned by any little Strokes of Casuistry, that I venture to affirm whoever should undertake to prove the contrary, would meet with the Contempt of every *Briton*. You need not, therefore, wonder that we look upon the Succession of the Queen of *Hungary* as a thing founded upon Laws human and divine, and not to be altered or destroyed, but by the direct Breach of both.

This plain State of the Matter of Fact, shews, how little Foundation there is for all that has been said about the Obstinacy and Intractability of the Queen of *Hungary*. Her Majesty had evidently an absolute Right to the Whole of her Father's Dominions, and could not possibly give up the smallest Part, without giving up, in some measure, her Right to the Whole; because the Preservation of the *Austrian* Succession entire and indivisible, is the Motive that induced the Diet of the Empire to convert the Pragmatick Sanction, which was no more than an Oeconomical Constitution, into a Law of the Empire, from which, therefore, she could not depart, without departing from her Right to the Empire's Guaranty. To say, therefore, that the Queen of *Hungary* has refused, and still refuses to listen to any Terms of Accommodation, founded on the giving any Satisfaction to the House of *Bavaria*, or any other Pretenders, is saying no more than that she is inflexibly just, that she adheres to the Laws of her Country, and that she will not be frightened into doing what she ought not, what, perhaps, she cannot do. There is a wide Difference, Sir, a very wide Difference between contending for what one conceives to be

be one's Right, and defending what one knows to be one's own ; the former may be Obstinacy, but the latter never can. Besides, Sir, while the Queen of *Hungary* acts as she does, she has a Right to claim, not only the Guaranty of the Empire, but of all the other Powers, who guaranteed that Succession which she defends ; but the Moment she consents to divide or alienate that Succession, she gives up that Right ; and can you call her refusing to give it up Obstinacy ? If so, Sir, you must alter all Languages as well as Laws ; and teach us a new Dialect, in consequence of this new way of thinking.

From hence too appears the Nonsense of another Suggestion : Pardon the Expression, Sir, since I am going to prove it is just. We have heard the Queen of *Hungary* accused for not submitting this Dispute to the Imperial Diet, and for not accepting the Mediation of the States of the Empire when offered, though it was certainly impossible for her to do either. Could she submit to the States of the Empire the Decision of that Point, which they had already decided in the most solemn manner, and upon which solemn Act of theirs her Right is founded ? Or could she accept their Mediation after this their solemn Decision ? Would not either of these have been a palpable Absurdity, and was she not extremely in the Right to save the States of the Empire, in their present Circumstances, the Shame of taking on themselves an Office they could not perform ? Lay your Hand upon your Heart, Sir, and say whether these Propositions were not made on purpose to draw her into this Dilemma, either of departing from her Right, which she must have done by submitting to the one, or accepting of the other ; or giving her

Enemies an Opportunity of charging her with Obstinacy for rejecting both. Alas! Sir, what Shifts are these? The Force of *France* and its Allies had been employed in vain to deprive her of her Dominions, and now this Stroke of Cunning was to come in, to deprive her of her Friends.

Let us consider, Sir, on the other side, what mighty Respect was paid to the Laws and Constitutions of the Empire, by the Adversary of the Queen of *Hungary*. He always declared that the Pragmatick Sanction was void, and that he considered himself as the sole Heir of the Emperor *Charles VI.* He claimed that Succession immediately on the Death of that Emperor; he applied himself immediately to the Diet of the Empire as a Proof of knowing that he had a good Cause. He scorned all dark Intrigues, secret Treaties, but above all foreign Assistance; and had so tender a Regard for the Repose of the Empire, that he would have chose to have lost all he had so good a Right to, rather than have called in the sworn Enemy of *Germany* to his Assistance. I really wonder, Sir, that somebody has not been found capable of asserting all this; because it is, at least, as true, and visibly much more to the Purpose, than any thing that has been said. Yet you know, Sir, as well as I, that the Elector of *Bavaria* concealed the Nature of his Claim; guaranteed, as well as his Brother the Elector of *Cologne*, this very Pragmatick Sanction; even at the Death of the Emperor he was silent, till by a Confederacy shall I call it, or a Conspiracy, there was a Project formed for stripping the Heiress of the Emperor *Charles VI.* of all the Dominions, her Right to which had been in the most solemn Manner acknowledged
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by every one of the Confederates ; and in order to execute this righteous Scheme, such a Number of *French* Troops were poured into the Heart of *Germany*, as it was believed would put Justice out of Countenance, and fright such as had Virtue enough left not to join in so execrable a Scheme from daring to oppose it. These, Sir, are Truths, which however Posterity may doubt, the present Age, nay, the present Enemies of the Queen of *Hungary*, cannot deny ; because, shameful as they are, they are at the same Time notorious.

Instead of avowing his Claim to the Diet, he took care to put it out of the power of the Diet to dispute it. Instead of calling upon the Queen of *Hungary* to submit their Disputes to the States of the Empire at *Ratisbon*, he talked of prescribing Terms to her on the Ramparts of *Vienna*. Instead of sacrificing his own Pretensions to the publick Peace, he modestly expected she should sacrifice her just Rights for the sake of preserving her own Person and that of her Children. But it so fell out that the Princess who was thus doomed to Destruction, had the Spirit to defend herself against all these Enemies, and by the Blessing of God upon her Arms, she has been able, not only to preserve her own, but by the just Rights of War, is become Mistress of the Territories of the Invader. This, Sir, is the great Crime imputed to the Queen of *Hungary*, and to her Allies. I have often wondered that those who have dealt so freely with their Conduct, did not attack the first of her Allies, I mean the Lord of Hosts, the God of Battles ; he who has so signally interposed in her Favour, and so heavily chastised the perfidious Breakers of Treaties ; those who in the midst of
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all their political Wisdom, said in their Hearts with the Fool, *There is no God.*

It is allowed that *Bavaria* has suffered deeply, but it was after *Austria* had been plundered ; it is admitted that the Inhabitants of that Country have been hardly dealt with, but scarcely so hard as the *Bohemians*. It is owned that they deserve Pity and Compassion ; and so surely do the other Countries that have felt the Scourge of this dreadful War. But on whom, Sir, are all the Evils to be charged, or who is in Conscience answerable for Events that all Parties condemn, all Parties are ashamed of ? Those surely by whom the War was begun. Those, who not only set the Example of these Sufferings, but made it necessary for others to continue them. Those, who to gratify their own private Interests and Ambition, actually overturned the Constitution of their Country, that Constitution they pretend now to be so fond of, and left no Authority in *Germany* but Force, no Right but that of the Sword. Have these People a Right to complain of these Mischiefs they have introduced ? Shall they call for Justice on the Heads of those who on the side of Justice took up Arms ; or, not content with Impunity, shall they dare, in the Sight of all the World, to attempt, by glossing their Iniquities, to fix the odious Term of Traitors to their Country upon others ? This, Sir, is deeper Policy than *Machiavel* ever taught, and those who have studied him so assiduously will find that the present Age is too wise, and too penetrating at least, if not too virtuous, to be imposed on. There might be perhaps Times, when fine Words would sanctify foul Actions ; but Men in our Days have too much Wit not to distinguish between a Felon
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that speaks well, and an honest Man that complains of being robb'd. I am sorry, heartily sorry, that I am obliged to make use of such Terms; but when People attempt to abuse the common Sense of Mankind, every Man is bound to vindicate the Sense he has left; and when those who have the framing publick Papers, not only abuse Facts, but pervert Language, every private Man is bound to interpose, and prevent their confounding the Notions of Right and Wrong.

If *Bavaria* has been over-run, it was owing to the Ambition of her Prince; if its Inhabitants are in the most miserable Condition they may thank his Allies; if they do not enjoy the Benefit of Capitulations; why did they break them? That their Prince is driven out of his Dominions is true; that their Country is desolate and their Cities demolished, is not to be disputed; that they are treated as a conquered Nation is acknowledged and avowed; but the Queen of *Hungary* is guiltless. She was forced to do all this in her own Defence; and if she has inflicted Punishments against the Clemency of her Nature, it has been to preserve her Subjects whose Loyalty required it at her Hands. Would you have had her left these Countries to the Pretender to her own Dominions? Would you have had her return the Weapon to a desperate Enemy? or, from a Principle of false Compassion, would you have had her risked the Safety of her own Person, merely to prevent the Sufferings of one, who, notwithstanding their Nearness in Blood, had involved their Country in such dismal Confusions? Whoever expects such things shews himself a Patron of Absurdities, and is so visible

an Enemy to Reason, that there is no arguing with him.

It is to avoid such palpable, such glaring Marks of Falshood and Folly, that a different Turn is given to the Dispute, and new Sounds are introduced to prevent our discerning that the Sense is the same. The Emperor, the Chief of the Empire, the Head of *Germany*, are now the favourite Phrases. But, for God's sake, Sir, did the Queen of *Hungary* attack the Emperor? did she despoil him of his Imperial Dignity? was it she that made him the Pensioner of *France*? You cannot say this. The Truth of the Matter is, that the Elector of *Bavaria*, who began a most unjust War upon the first Elector of the Empire, and in the Course of that War lost his Dominions, is now Emperor; and what then? Has this changed the Nature of Things? Can it have any Effect upon what has been long since done? will it operate upon his past Actions, and make that a lawful and a just War, which at the Time he enterprised it was against the Constitution of the Family, the solemn Act of the Empire, the Faith of numberless Treaties, and the Law of Nations? If not, what signifies ringing Emperor, Head of *Germany*, and Sovereign of the Empire in our Ears? or what has the Queen of *Hungary* done to deserve it? But, say some People, she has protested, and that too in very unguarded Terms. Why, grant it were so; People who are greatly injured have not always the greatest Patience. But against what has she protested? Not against *his* Election; you know that well enough; but against the Injury done *her* in his Election; against the taking away her Vote; contrary to the Golden Bull, which in spite of Com-

missorial.

missorial Decrees, Manifesto's, and Expositions, is and will be the Constitution of the Empire so long as it subsists.

On the whole, therefore, this is a new Controversy about Words. The Queen of *Hungary* maintains and defends the *Germanick* Constitution by her Protest, and here are a new set of extraordinary Patriots started up, who, by a single Stroke of political Equivocation, would turn this Act of Loyalty to the Constitution into Treason, and arm the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire against an innocent Princess shall I say? no, against themselves, against their own Rights, their own Privileges, and that very Assembly which pretends to demand their Assistance. What Madness! What Infatuation! The Elector of *Mentz*, who is Archchancellor of the Empire, has transmitted this Paper to the Dictature of the Empire, without seeing the least Harm in it. His Majesty of *Great-Britain*, who is likewise an Elector of the Empire, and to use the new Phrase, though it is bad *English*, as *respectable* a Prince as any in the Empire, has, in his Letters to the Emperor, unanswerably proved, that it was what her Majesty of *Hungary* had a Right to do, and what it ill became his Imperial Majesty to dispute. It is certainly, therefore a well judged thing to tell the *English* Nation that they have nothing to do with the Affairs of *Germany*, and that they ought not to enquire into *German* Disputes: Why? Because those Disputes will not bear an Enquiry; and the *English* Nation have naturally such a Love to Truth, and such a Capacity of discovering on which side it lies, that there is no blinding them with such fallacious Flourishes as compose that bomb-

baſt Eloquence, which diſtinguiſhes the three laſt Commiſſorial Decrees.

But I would not, Sir, have you miſtake me in this Matter, or rather I would not afford you an Opportunity of pretending to miſtake me ſo far, as to infer from hence, that I either think it reaſonable to depoſe the Emperor, believe that to be the Queen of *Hungary's* Deſign, or maintain that *Great Britain* is bound either by Treaty, or by Intereſt, to ſupport her in it, if it was. All I pretend to ſhew is, that the Election of his Imperial Maſteſty has nothing to do with the Diſpute about the *Auſtrian* Succeſſion; and if I am not much miſtaken, his preſent Imperial Maſteſty promiſes in one of the Articles of his Capitulation, that he will never involve the Empire in any private Diſpute of his, which ſhews that the Empire could have nothing to do in this War, even if he were in the right. But though it be true, that no Law could oblige the Queen of *Hungary* to part with *Bavaria*, which is her's by the Laws of Arms, which as I obſerved before was the only Law that prevailed in *Germany* when ſhe acquired it; yet I readily admit that it is not decent to deprive ſo near a Relation, or to expreſs my Sentiments openly and freely, his innocent Poſterity of their patrimonial Inheritance; and I likewise admit that it is not for the Honour of *Germany*, to have at her Head a Prince deprived of his Dominions, and eſpecially deprived of them, as he has been, in Conſequence of a War begun in direct oppoſition to the Laws of the Empire. Theſe, I dare ſay you will allow to be great Conceſſions, but they are the Conceſſions of a Man, who has nothing in view but the Truth, who is not enthuſiaſtically devoted to the Queen of *Hungary's* Intereſt, but who could

as readily discern Injustice or Ambition in the House of *Austria*, as in any other House, if there was sufficient Marks to distinguish them by.

But, Sir, it so falls out, that the Queen of *Hungary*, who claims the whole and undivided Succession of the House of *Austria* under the Pragmatic Sanction, as approved and guaranteed by the Diet of the Empire, is entirely govern'd by the same Principles, that induced his Imperial Majesty of ever glorious Memory her Father, to expect that Guaranty, and so wise, so prudent, and so illustrious an Assembly to grant it. In the midst of Persecution, she has preserved her Magnanimity, and while cover'd with opprobrious Language by her Adversary, has been studying his Interest. Her Politicks have been always founded upon Maxims of Truth and Justice, and with a Heart entirely *German* she has been contriving to make a great and independant Monarch of that Prince, whose Emisaries have charged her with a Design of dethroning him. This, Sir, is indeed an extraordinary Contrast ; it is in every Circumstance so fair, so full, and so agreeable to the Rules of Rhetoric that I am under some Apprehensions, my Readers will suspect me of aiming at Eloquence, while I am endeavouring only, in the plainest Terms, to lay down a certain Truth ; and it gives me great Satisfaction to think, that weak as my Abilities are, this Cause cannot suffer by my handling it ; since as the *Croats* and *Pandours* rush'd from their Dens and Caverns, possessed with a Spirit of Justice, that render'd them an Overmatch for the regular Troops of *France* ; so a Man of the most ordinary Understanding, having the Merits of this Cause imprinted in his Mind,

may defend it against the greater Masters of Words.

That wise and good Princess long ago foresaw that the best Expedient for settling the Peace of *Germany* was to fix the Emperor in his Throne, and to invest him truly with that Sovereignty of which he has now only the Shadow : I say, Sir, even now only the Shadow ; now, when his Court shines at the Expence of *France*, and his Power seems to be supported by the Arms of ———. Her Majesty of *Hungary* saw with deep Concern the Distress of a Prince, who would have buried herself, her Children, and her Family for ever in the Ruins of *Vienna*, and was scarce in Safety before she busied herself about his. She imputed that Conduct which had so strong an Appearance of Malice to Delusion ; to that Delusion, which has afforded *France* an Opportunity of boasting, that she has given Refuge to Kings dethroned, and shelter'd Princes in Exile. She labour'd by every possible Method to deliver his Imperial Majesty from this unprincely Bondage. She would have divorced him from that Interest, which is not more opposite to her's than his own. She would have inspired him with Sentiments worthy his Imperial Robes ; or rather by removing his Prejudices, she would have render'd those Virtues conspicuous, which none can deny his Imperial Majesty possesses. Virtues, which recommended him to the Choice of all the Electors, and Virtues most unhappily obscured by his fatal Adherence to that perfidious Court, whose Intrigues have involved his Country, and all *Europe*, in such Calamities. Such are the Injuries the Queen of *Hungary* intended him. Such were the Methods by which she sought to revenge the Injuries he had done her. Such were the

the Schemes and Projects for dethroning the Head of the Empire; and such the Reasons that ought to arm the Empire against her!

That she had not the same Tendernefs and Regard for *France*, did not proceed from a rancorous unrelenting Disposition, as has been most basely insinuated by the Pens under the Direction of that Court, but from a calm and moderate Pursuit of her own Safety, and the Publick Good. She saw plainly that her own Succession could never be secure, while *France* retain'd the Power of hurting her; she was convinced that the States of the Empire could never exert themselves in the Maintenance of their Guaranty to that Succession, while *France* could awe them; she discern'd with no less Certainty, that her Neighbours were in equal Danger; and that the Maritime Powers especially could no more promise themselves quiet than herself, if that Power, which no Treaties could bind, was not so circumscribed as to lose in some Measure the Capacity of hurting. But what then was the Scheme she form'd? For I have already owned, and I still own, that fair Pretences are not always to be trusted. Was it a Scheme to enlarge her own Dominions at the Expence of *France*? Was it a Project for repairing the Losses she had suffered by the Intrigues of that Crown, by annexing to her Territories, what was pared from the Robberies of the other? Nothing like it. She thought, and a most equitable Thought it was, that an Opportunity offer'd for recovering from *France*, what in Times of publick Confusion, such as these, *France* had stolen from the Empire; and it was propos'd that these very Dominions should have been given to the Emperor, as a just Reparation for the Losses he has sustained
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by the wicked and treacherous Arts of *France*. This was the Object of the Queen's Views, and from the Pursuit of this glorious Object was the young Hero of *Lorraine* recalled by the Invasion of *Bohemia*.

I am sensible, Sir, that it will be an unpleasing Subject to you, tho' I know not why it should be so; but, at the same Time, it is so material to my Purpose, that I must take the Liberty of pointing out to you the Advantages, that must have followed from the putting this Scheme in Execution, and which, by the Way, nothing could have prevented, but the paradoxical Method of giving Peace to *Germany* by recalling thither the War, which had been transferred into the Territories of *France*. In the first Place, Sir, it would have restored to *Germany* a large Extent of Country, every Foot of which had been taken away by Methods the most unjustifiable that were perhaps ever used. For the three Bishopricks were seiz'd under the Notion of a Sequestration, *Alsace* obtain'd by Fraud, and the City of *Strasburgh* surprized by open Force, in a Time of a full Peace, and when all *France* blush'd at the Fact, except the barbarous Minister that directed, and the ambitious Monarch that permitted it. This alone must have had happy Consequences, because it must have remov'd the Terror of the *French* Arms from four of the *German* Electors. In the next Place, it would have been a noble Accession to the Territories of the Prince for whom they were designed; and to mention no more, it would, in the third Place, have given such Spirit to the desponding Powers of *Europe*, as would probably have secured them, for an Age at least, against the Force and Intrigues of *France*. All these Advantages would have

have accrued immediately to the Emperor and Empire, and consequentially only to the Queen of Hungary and her Allies, by whose Arms, and at whose Expence they were to be obtain'd, not by a dark and clandestine Alliance, grounded on Motives of *Private Interest*, transacted in a Time of Peace, but in a fair and open War, in which the Crown of *France* itself was the Aggressor.

I know it may be objected, that the Emperor's Honour was too deeply concerned for him to suffer such a Proceeding. But methinks, Sir, the Force of this Objection is very much weaken'd, if not entirely destroy'd, if we consider that tho' all this was to be done for, yet nothing was to be done by the Emperor. He was not desired to break Faith with, or to attack, him, who is falsely called his Benefactor. He was already out of a Capacity of making War, and was brought into this weak and defenceless a Condition by the Contrivance of this very Power. This is a Fact so certain in itself, and so well known in *Germany* and to all *Europe*, that I might be dispensed from the Pains of proving it. But that I may give no room for suggesting, that I take Things upon trust, and assert what I cannot make good, give me leave, Sir, to put you in mind of a Proof, that I take to be invincible; I mean the Disgrace of Marshal *Broglie*, procured by the direct Application of the Emperor himself, for betraying, deserting, and delivering up his hereditary Dominions. A Man who had the Confidence to avow his Hatred of *Germans* in the Heart of *Germany*, and who treated with the utmost Contempt the Imperial Troops, notwithstanding they behaved upon all Occasions much better than his own. This Man's Disgrace, I say, is an unquestionable
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Proof of the Truth of what I assert ; for it can never be supposed, that a Prince of so much Virtue, Prudence and Moderation, as the Emperor is allowed to be, would have accused that Man without Grounds, or that the *French* King and his Ministers would have given him up to the Emperor's Resentments, if the Accusation had not been well supported. It is not therefore easy to discern how his Imperial Majesty's Honour could have suffered by accepting Territories recover'd from *France* ; to which she neither has, nor can have any just Title.

From these Premises may be deduced the clearest and most satisfactory Answers to the two Points which are most strongly insisted upon, in the Charge against the Queen of *Hungary*, and in Support of the new Treaty of Union. The first of them is the detaining the Emperor's hereditary Countries, which upon this Plan it is plain she could not restore with Safety to herself, or to the common Cause. All the Clamour that has been raised about this, is absolutely false and groundless, and not to be reconciled to the Laws of War or Peace, to the Maxims of Policy, or of common Sense ; and therefore the detaining them could not be any Breach of the *Germanic* Constitution. The Emperor indeed might have taken a Method, which would have given some Colour to his Complaint ; he might have renounced his Alliance with *France*, but then the Complaint would have been lost, because in that Case he had been long ago in Possession of his Dominions. But while he remain'd attach'd to that Court, was supported by that Court, and employed the Remains of his Authority merely in executing the Dictates, and fulfilling the Purposes of that Court, to the visible Prejudice of the

the Empire, as well as the Queen of *Hungary*, I say, while he was doing all this, and perhaps more, I mean stirring up the *Bavarians* to Plots and Conspiracies, the expecting the Queen of *Hungary* to restore his Dominions, or the imputing it to her as a Crime, that she did not restore them, is past all Understanding. Did ever the Laws of Honour oblige a Person who had disarmed another in a Duel, to restore his Adversary his Sword, while he was manifestly in a Temper of attempting to do the same Mischief with it again, of the Power of doing which he was deprived but the Moment before? No, certainly; the nicest Laws of Honour require no such Thing; and whenever the Advocates for the Treaty of Union shall shew either Law or Reason, why the Queen of *Hungary* should tempt Providence, by such an Act of Rashness, I shall be ready to own that Treaty is not altogether without Foundation.

But, says the EXPOSITION, that notable Piece which drew upon you this Trouble, the Emperor did more; for he offer'd to renounce his Pretensions to the *Austrian* Succession, which would have put an End to the Dispute. But how can we be sure of that? The House of *Bavaria* had renounced all Claims, and had guaranteed this very Pragmatic Sanction before; so had the Crown of *France*, and received a Consideration for it; but they made War against the Queen of *Hungary*, with a View to dispossess her of that Succession which they had acknowledged and guaranteed. Why? because they imagin'd at the Conjuncture they attack'd her, they had Force sufficient to do what never could have been justified, if done. It is plain therefore, if any thing can be plain, that the Queen

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of *Hungary* had as little Reason to trust to a new Renunciation as to the old Guaranty ; or a least, she had no reason to trust to it, till she had some collateral Security for the Performance, which she might have had, if in Conjunction with her Allies, she had recover'd the Provinces torn from the Empire by *France* ; and the Emperor had renounc'd his Alliance with that Crown, and had given a sufficient Pledge for his Sincerity in that Renunciation. This, and this only, could secure the Queen of *Hungary* in the Possession of her own Dominions ; and this would at the same Time have secured her Allies from the Dread of being called upon again, to execute their Guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction. It is a Fact so true, that nobody disputes it, that the Present War is a heavy Burden on the Queen of *Hungary*, and on her Allies ; but heavy as the Burthen is, it is still more tolerable than a rotten Peace, which would infallibly ruin both her and her Allies.

The other Objection is grounded on the Treatment given to the *Bavarian* Troops, since they assum'd the Title of the Neutral Army of the Empire. It is complain'd of in the strongest Terms that the Queen of *Hungary*, forgetting the Tenor of her own Capitulations, little respecting the sacred Name of the Empire, and having nothing in View but the aggrandizing her own Power at the Expence of the Liberty and Peace of *Germany*, first forced these Imperial Troops to take Shelter under the Cannon of an Imperial Fortrefs, and then attempted to destroy them under that Fortrefs, notwithstanding the Expostulations of a Field-Marshal of the Empire, who was at the same Time Governor of that Fortrefs. This, I dare say, Sir, you will allow
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is the Case of the Accusation fairly stated ; but when the Matter comes to be freely examin'd, and the Circumstances attending these Facts are looked into, the Queen of *Hungary's* Conduct appears to be irreproachable, because every Step she has taken, was render'd necessary by her Enemy's bad Conduct, and Breach of Faith. That a Neutrality was granted to the Army under the Command of Count *Seckendorf*, is a Point that admits of no Dispute ; but from that very Neutrality it appears, that the Consideration upon which it was granted, was the *Bavarian* Armies remaining neuter, that is to say, detaching themselves from the Queen's Enemies, till by the Mediation of Powers, well affected to both, the Queen and the Emperor could be made Friends. Now, Sir, I will take upon me to say, that so long as this Neutrality was observ'd on one Side, it was never violated on the other. The Imperial Troops remain'd quietly in their Quarters, the Archives of the Electoral House of *Bavaria*, the rich Furniture of the Electoral Residence, were transferr'd from *Augsbourg* to *Frankfort*, and these, Sir, I hope, are not among the Number of those Cruelties, Barbarities and Outrages, of which the Emperor's new Friends so heavily complain. Thus far, Sir, Things went as they should do, the Emperor listen'd to Proposals, the Queen made continual Concessions, and his *Britannic* Majesty, after exposing his Person in Defence of *Germany*, underwent incredible Fatigues in endeavouring every Method he could devise to put an End to the War by a speedy and a solid Peace.

But in the midst of all these Cares, with which the Friends of Freedom were affected, it began to be observ'd, that the Imperial Army

was constantly recruiting, Arms, Ammunition and Equipages were provided for them, and publickly paid for by Remittances from *France*. As soon as the Season for Action approached, there begun to be great Stirs in *Bavaria*, and those who complain'd so heavily of the Queen's raising Contributions in that Country, know that one Reason for raising them, was to prevent the drawing great Sums out of that Electorate for the Payment of Troops that were to fight against her. And you must likewise know too, that those Severities that are represented in so dreadful a Light, were no other than necessary Precautions for preventing private Conspiracies, and cutting the Throats of *Austrian* Garrisons in their Beds. By Degrees, as the new Projects of *France* began to ripen, the Imperial Troops quitted their Quarters, and disposed themselves in such a Manner as very plainly shew'd they were at the Devotion of that Court, that had now declar'd War against the Queen of *Hungary*, and was preparing to attack her with all it's Force. At last a *French* Army takes Post in such a Manner, as to be cover'd on one side by an Imperial Fortrefs, and the same Imperial Fortrefs covers the Neutral Imperial Army on the other, while the Velt Marshal of the Empire was at once Commander in Chief of the *Bavarian* Forces, now in Motion in Breach of a Neutrality, Governor of an Imperial Fortrefs that cover'd a *French* Army, and Conjunct in Command with a Marshal of *France* at the Head of that Army, whose only Errand it was to attack the Queen. In such Circumstances, Sir, you must allow me to say, that if the Queen's *Hungarian* Officers, who are better Soldiers than Statesmen, misapprehended Things a little, and look'd upon these

Neutral

Neutral Troops as Enemies, it was a very pardonable Mistake. I think in my Conscience, Sir, that a Man of your Modesty would scarce venture to assert, that they ought to have look'd upon them as Friends. To cut the Matter short, and to speak freely what I think, there never was so ridiculous a Farce play'd as this, which was design'd to give Birth to so serious an Affair as the *Treaty of Union at Francfort*, and the *Invasion of Bohemia in Consequence of that Treaty*; you must allow, Sir, that I have not followed the modern Fashion of exaggerating Things, but have treated this Matter as softly and tenderly as possible; for had I written in the new Style, I should have charged the Emperor with breaking the Neutrality, with violating the most solemn Capitulations, and thereby exposing his Subjects, his brave and loyal Subjects, who have deserv'd so much better at his Hands, to all the Severities they have met with since.

On the whole therefore, these Complaints are either without Foundation, or if there be any Foundation for a Complaint, it is not certainly against the Queen of *Hungary*. She did not begin the War, therefore the Consequences of the War cannot in Justice be imputed to her. She did not despoil the Elector of *Bavaria* of his hereditary Countries, from a Thirst of Dominion, but from a laudable Desire of removing the Seat of War from among her Subjects. She does not withhold these Dominions from an ambitious Desire of extending her own Power, but as a Pledge of her being indemnified for what she has lost on the one Hand; and on the other, because she cannot with Safety restore them. If she protested against the Election of the present Emperor, it was because her Vote in electing him was set aside;

aside ; and if other Princes are so jealous of their Rights, as to draw their Swords on a Suspicion of being injur'd, what was there Criminal in her Paper-Protest, not grounded on a Suspicion, but on an Injury receiv'd ? If she has attacked *France*, *France* first attack'd her ; and the present Conjuncture shews, that she never can be safe till *France* has lost its Influence in the Empire ; which illicit, which dangerous Influence, was all that she attempted to take away. If she granted a Neutrality to the Emperor's Troops, it was an Act of Compassion, for she had them in her Power. If she broke that Neutrality, it was because she could not in Prudence stay till her Enemies broke it. If she has attempted to put Garrisons into Imperial Towns, it was to prevent their being possessed by the *French*. If she has at any Time acted contrary to the System of the Empire, it was because the Emperor, under *French* Counsels, had so confused that System, that it could no longer be regarded. In a Word, whatsoever she has done, she has done to secure the *German* Nation against *France*, its natural, its implacable Enemy ; and against Gallicised *Germans*, who trusting to the specious Promises of *France*, are in Arms for her against their Country. These, Sir, are Truths, incontestable Truths, which will for ever justify the Conduct of the Queen of *Hungary*, and the Conduct of the Allies of the Queen of *Hungary*, to the present Age, and to all Posterity. They will justify her, Sir, so long as the Constitution of the Empire remains, and the Laws of Nature and Nations are understood. If, indeed in this critical Conjuncture, *French* Perfidy should get the better of *German* Probity, and the Power of that all-grasping Crown should be too hard for the

the Friends of Freedom, Wrong and Right may be so confounded, as not to be distinguished, and common Sense may be declared Treason. But while a Spark of Liberty remains, while we yet dare think as we ought, and speak as we think, we must conclude that the Queen of *Hungary* and her Allies, have made a most glorious Stand, and that all the Attempts that are, or may be made, to set this in another Light, are Attempts to deceive those who cannot be enslav'd by all the Force their Enemies can employ against them.

There is but one Point more I shall touch, and then I have done with this part of my Subject? and that is the Conduct of the Princes and States of the Empire. All of these that embrac'd the Imperial, that is, the *French* Party, were visibly bias'd either by Hopes or Fears; such as disdain'd the one, and were above the other, sided with the Queen of *Hungary* as far as they were able, and if any have since left her, Threats or Promises have taken them off. While they were free, while they were independant, or to use a stronger, a more expressive Word, while they were *GERMANS*, they were for the Queen of *Hungary*; but since this fatal Change, since its become fashionable to call *French* Influence the *Germanick* Constitution, they may perhaps be obliged to speak the Language of the Times, a Language foreign to their Hearts, and, as it will hereafter appear, foreign to their Interests. Future Events, Sir, are in the Womb of Time, and lie beyond the Reach of human Foresight; but whatever those Events may be, whatever may befall the Queen of *Hungary*, or her Allies, both SHE and THEY have put this out of the Reach of *Time* and *Fortune*; that Duty and not Interest

Interest was their Guide, and that they met their Fate after that of *Germany* was decided, after its Constitution was torn up and destroy'd, after its Diet lost its Figure, and its Freedom ; after its Emperor lived a Pensioner to *France*, and after

I want Words to express the rest, and so I leave it.

But if Zeal for Liberty, if the Desire of maintaining Publick Faith, if the pure Intention of doing Right for the Sake of doing right, can draw down the Divine Blessing on an Appeal to Providence in the way of Arms, the Queen of *Hungary* will be still victorious ; victorious over the Arts and Frauds, as well as over the Armies of *France* and her Partizans ; victorious in the Cause of *Germany*, *Europe*, Liberty, and Mankind. In the Hopes of this, Sir, let us live ; for without these Hopes, what should we live for ? To see our constant and natural Allies ruin'd by their own Folly, swallow'd up by an ambitious Neighbour, while we have nothing more to expect than to be last devoured. A Fate which to avoid, what Danger is there which we should not despise ?

I am now come to the second Part of my Task, which is to defend the Conduct of *Great Britain*, since the present War begun ; and it falls out very happily for me that there cannot well be any Thing imagin'd more easily to be defended. I am not undertaking either a knotty Argument on the Right Side, or attempting to give plausible Colours to what in my own Conscience I know to be wrong ; but I am to shew that the *British* Nation in general, who by their Representatives

representatives in Parliament, so often recommended to his Majesty this War, in the Cause of the Queen of *Hungary*, in Support of the Ballance of Power, and in Maintenance of the Freedom of *Europe*, were guided by that good Sense, which the wisest Nation in *Europe* allow them; by that generous, open and beneficent Spirit of assisting their oppressed Neighbours, for which they have been, and may they always be distinguished! This is what I have undertaken, and this may be with such Facility perform'd, that I have not the least Fear so good a Cause should suffer, even in so weak Hands as mine.

You know, Sir, that the Guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, was given by the most solemn Treaty by the Crown of *Great-Britain*; and that this Treaty was maturely examin'd, and in the most authentic Manner approv'd by Parliament. To say the Truth, Sir, it could not be otherwise; for without deserting that System which the Nation, I say the Nation, Sir, has always embrac'd, we could not desert the House of *Austria*. It was not the Revolution, as some People imagin'd, that gave this Turn to our Politicks; but it was the Court's endeavouring to give another Turn to our Politicks, that brought about the Revolution. In the Days of King *Charles II.* the People, the Parliament, and every Man of Parts and Probity in the Council, were as much attach'd to this System as they are now; and for the very same Reason, because they thought it their Interest, and that the Independency of *Britain* could not be maintain'd without it.

The Act therefore of guarantying the Pragmatic Sanction, was the Act of the Crown, but the Approbation of the Legislature has made it

the Act of the Nation ; and may we cease to be a Nation whenever we hesitate at performing what the Faith of the Nation has been pledged to perform. When the Queen of *Hungary* was attacked, when a Combination was formed to strip her of those Territories, in the possession of which the Faith of this Nation was given that she should be maintained, what could we do less than we did ? or what must all *Europe* have thought of us, if we had refused to comply with our Engagements ? That there was a slowness in doing this, I have already observ'd, was the chief Cause for over-turning the late Administration ; and it is a Point of Justice due to a great Man, then at the Head of the Opposition, and lately at the Helm of our Affairs, that he has been perfectly uniform in his Conduct, that he is done in Power what he declared to be right when out ; and that in this respect he has set his Probit on the level with his Parts, and shewn himself at once an honest and an able Minister. This, I say, is a Piece of Justice that his very Enemies cannot deny him, and in this no doubt he has shewn himself truly a Patriot. He caught his Affection for the House of *Austria* from the Voice of the People, they avow'd the Interest of that House, and the Interest of this Nation to be the same ; and therefore whatever the Fate of the War may be, they never can disavow him or his Measures in this respect. His Instructions are to be found in the Addresses of Parliament, and if they were dictated to him by the Crown, the Crown was first advised to them by the Nation. These are Facts, Sir, which the *Exposition* makes it necessary for me to call to Remembrance, that the Insinuations thrown out there, as if this was a War contriv'd by a Ministry,

nistry, and supported by a Party, may appear in the Light they deserve; for most unquestionably, if there was a thing to which the whole Nation made itself a Party, it was this War in favour of the Queen of *Hungary*; and I hope the *British* Spirit will never sink so low as to be ashamed of it.

That we gave her at first such Assistance, as her Circumstances and our own would allow, was a Mark of our Sincerity, and a Pledge to her of our performing strictly our Engagements. That we went farther and increased our Assistance, and engaged at last our whole Force in her Quarrel, was the Effect of the Turn the War took, which quickly convinced us, that we were not more engaged by the Faith of Treaties, to support the Queen of *Hungary*, than by our Interest to oppose the Progress of that ambitious Power, which now visibly disclosed its Design of enslaving all *Europe*. We proportioned our Succours according to the Necessity of the Queen and our own Circumstances, till it was evident that we were ourselves no less deeply concern'd than she; and we did not enter as Principals into this War, till *France* display'd the whole of her Scheme; and shew'd that the Destruction of this Nation, that is to say, the Freedom and Independency of this Nation, was a part of it. That we executed our Guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, was doing what we ow'd to public Faith, that for doing this, and thereby crossing the Views of *France*, we provoked her to declare War, was a thing we could not help, for sure the *British* Nation will never think a Breach of Faith a proper Expedient to avoid any War; but more especially to avoid a War with *France*, when actually engaged

in the Execution of a Project to overturn the Liberties of *Europe*. As Auxiliaries therefore to the Queen of *Hungary* we acted as became us, and that we are now Principals in the War, is because it is our own Interest, and we fight for ourselves, so that the War is now *our own*, and we assist the Queen of *Hungary*, because *her* Enemy is *ours*.

This, Sir, is the true State of the Case, and it will be found so whenever it shall come to be examin'd with that Coolness and Discretion which it deserves by competent Judges. For however things may be represented either in the private Conversations of Men, who love to live well together, and therefore naturally give in to each others Notions; or in Party Cabals, which are no less dangerous to true Politicks than to true Religion, since they first produce an hypocritical Faith, back'd with strong Affeuerations of Belief against real Conviction, which generally ends in Atheism, or the abandoning of all Principles; in both Cases, I say, however this Question may be decided among such Junto's, yet upon a fair Hearing in a full Assembly of the Representatives of the *British* People, things will come out exactly as I have stated them.

It will then appear that the Ruin of the House of *Austria*, was only the first Step in the *French* Plan, and that from thence they would have proceeded to change the general System of *Europe*. But you will demand how will this appear; to which I answer, by considering the Force *France* employed for this Purpose. If the obtaining some Satisfaction for the House of *Bavaria*, had been all that was in View, it might surely have been brought about without such an Armament, as in the first Instance, cost
France

France twice the Value of a reasonable Equivalent. But this was not the Case ; nay, it was never pretended to be the Case, till very lately. The first avowed Design was to transfer all the Dominions of the House of *Austria* to that of *Bavaria* ; and this I must confess was the only cause that could be avow'd : For the Elector of *Bavaria* was either the Heir of all the Dominions of the House of *Austria*, or of none. He claims by a Pragmatick Sanction, as well as the Queen of *Hungary* ; and his Claim, to use a coarse Expression, stands upon as *broad a Bottom*. But now, to say nothing of the Injustice of *France* in guarantying one Pragmatick Sanction, and arming in Favour of another, what Reason is there to believe that she meant the Design she avowed ? If the Elector of *Bavaria* was to be the universal Heir of the *Austrian* Dominions, how came the Crown of *Spain* to enter into the War ? What could induce the King of *Poland* to take the Share in it he did ? Or how could *France* have enter'd into Engagements with his *Prussian* Majesty ? The Partition of the *Austrian* Succession, was as much against the Interest, as much against the Right of the Elector of *Bavaria*, supposing him to have any Right to that Succession, as the Partition of the Queen of *Hungary's* Dominions, is against the Nature of that Title by which she possesses them.

Thus, Sir, I presume to say, that I have made it clear to the meanest Capacity, that the Design of *France* was as little to establish the Claim of the House of *Bavaria*; as that of the House of *Austria* ; and if that was not her Design, what in the Name of God could be her Design, but to overturn and destroy that System which has been form'd to set Bounds to her Power ?

Power? to secure the rest of *Europe* from the Effects of her Ambition, and to preserve our Constitution, Liberties and Commerce, from that Ruin, which must overwhelm them, whenever the Power of *France* rises as high as her Ambition. And now, Sir, I would be glad to know, why any Foreign Prince should presume in the Stile of the *Exposition*, to question the Right of the *British* Government, to interfere in the Affairs of *Germany*, at a Time when it was most visible that the Affairs of *Germany*, were in Fact our own. When the Consideration was not, whether we should take a share in the War, but whether we should take it sooner or later; whether we should take it in Compliance with Treaties, in Support of our Allies, while it lay at a Distance, and while it was in our power to prevent the Calamities that were coming upon us, by opposing our Enemies in Time, or whether by illuding our Treaties, we should stay till our natural Allies were undone, till the Force of our Enemy was irresistible, till our Oppression would have been enforced by invincible Necessity, and we should have had as little Title to Compassion in the Day of our Destruction, as we had to Honour in pursuing so base, so pusillanimous a Conduct, when there was a possibility of resisting that Torrent, by which we must then have been overborne? A most excellent Scheme of Policy indeed.

The Conduct of *France*, for you know, Sir, it is lawful to learn from Enemies, the Conduct of *France* ought to teach us better Things. Is there Wisdom and Policy in *France*? Did this Wisdom and Policy appear in the Measures she took for compassing her Design; in the immense Sums of Money squander'd in the North;
in

in the vast Subsidies granted to *German* Princes, in the March of such mighty Armies into a distant Country, to be maintain'd there at almost inconceivable Expence? Did, I say, her Wisdom and Policy appear in all this, and would it at the same time have been Wisdom and Policy in us, to have set still with our Arms before us, while all this was doing? No, surely, nor common Sense. When the *Gallick* Cock struts, crows, and claps his Wings, it can never be a fit Season for the *British* Lion to slumber. If the Quarrels of *Germany* be nothing to us, what are they to *France*? If she has nothing to fear, nothing to hope, nothing to desire, as she *sometimes pretends* from the Issue of these Quarrels, why does she meddle in them? Why does she profusely squander away her Men and Money in the Maintenance of them? Why does she compass Sea and Land? Why does she move Heaven and Earth to give a certain Turn to those Quarrels, if that Turn is not to be to her Advantage? If that Turn is not to be advantageous to her in a Degree proportionable to her Expence? If that Turn is not in Futurity to compensate the exhausting herself for the present, the throwing away all her Money, the thinning her Country of Men, the putting almost a full Stop to her Commerce, the subverting her domestick Oeconomy, and the hazarding the Affection of his Subjects to their *best beloved Prince*, by burying them under Misfortunes of every kind, was to be repaid by some Benefit adequate to the risk. But what Benefit, Sir, at least what Benefit of such a Nature, can *France* ever reap and we remain in Safety? Or with what Face can any Man pretend, that the Wisdom and Policy of *France* appears in such a Conduct, and that the
 opposing

opposing it with all her Force, is in *Great-Britain* either foolish or unjust ?

You may possibly object, that in all this I take for granted what I ought to have proved, that *France* is the the natural and irreconcilable Enemy of *Britain*, that her Prosperity includes our Destruction, and that, though removed from her by our Situation as an Island, we are yet as much bound to oppose her Progress on the Continent, as if we were settled on the Continent ourselves. But, Sir, this is a Point so well known, and so little controverted, that it scarce stands in need of Proof. But for your sake, Sir, who are a Foreigner, I am content to enter a little upon that stale Topic, as well to convince you that the Fact is certain, as to make you sensible that we have not taken up this Notion as Politicians ; but have been forced and driven into it by the *French* themselves. Their Conduct, Sir, at all Times, and in all Circumstances, have spoke them our determined Enemies, even when we were of the same Religion, when the Families of our Princes were most nearly allied. In War they have endeavoured to oppress us by Dint of Numbers ; in Peace they have laboured to deceive and destroy us by specious Pretences of Friendship, which have ever done them most Service, and most hurt us. It would be no difficult Task to support this Observation, by a copious Deduction of Facts for upwards of seven hundred Years past ; but to avoid so tedious a Digression let us take a short View of their Behaviour from the beginning of the last Century. The Letters and Negotiations of the *French* Ministers under the Reign of *Henry IV.* which have been made publick for the sake of displaying their prodigious Abilities, render it manifest that they
would

would have hinder'd the Accession of King *James I.* if they had been able; and that they willingly encouraged such seditious Spirits as began to stir in the Northern Parts of his Dominions. In the succeeding Reign they had their Emissaries about the Queen, who was a Daughter of *France*, who put her upon doing Things that at once debased her Character, and render'd her odious to her Subjects. This forced the King to dismiss all her *French* Servants at once; an Accident that was improved into giving her a Distaste against one, who was a better Husband than a King, and who gratified her Humours at the Expence of his Interest, and at last of his Life. At the same time that the *French* prompted the Court to high and haughty Measures, they were intriguing with the Disaffected, or to use a modern Word, with those in the *Opposition*. To whom was it that the first Revolters in *Scotland* addressed themselves, by Petition, for Support against their lawful and hereditary King, but to the Crown of *France*? and from whence were the first Supplies of Money derived, that enabled the Chiefs of the Party to march an Army into *England*, but from the *French* Coffers? What excited the King to that Stiffness, that so much hurt him, but *French* Councils? And who prefer'd that *knavish, trimming* Secretary, that took Notes at the Council-Table for the use of *the Opposition*, I mean Sir *Henry Vane*, but our *French* Queen, who was thus the Beginning of those Troubles which so effectually answered the Ends of her Countrymen? Who was it that for promoting the Scheme just then form'd, and which has been ever since steadily pursued, truckled to *Cromwell*, and flatter'd the Usurper, into turning that Power he

had acquired by the Murder of the King, and the Subversion of the Laws, into doing the dirty Work of *France*, and depressing the House of *Austria* to a Degree she has never since recover'd? I need not tell you, Sir, for no Man is ignorant that it was *Mazarine*, whose Ambition did not soar higher, than his Dissimulation could descend, where Fawning could do the Business better than Force.

Who was it that on the great Turn which happened here, advis'd *Monk* to set up for himself, and offer'd to support him with all their Power? Was it not the Crown of *France* by her Ambassador? And this to keep out a King, who was by Blood a Grandson of *France*, and who had suffered himself to be perverted to Popery, by solemn Professions of effectual Assistance. By whom in the Beginning of his Reign, was that Prince seduced into selling *Dunkirk* to those, who immediately struck a Medal to awaken the Jealousy of his Subjects upon that Occasion; and afterwards publish'd the whole Negotiation to blacken the Characters of his Ministers? Who was it that first excited the first *Dutch* War, then join'd with the *Dutch* against us, and invited *Ludlow* to *Paris*, to concert the most effectual Means of restoring the Commonwealth? And who was it, that after Force proved abortive, put the King upon arbitrary Measures, betray'd those Measures to such as were likely to put the worst Construction upon them, and by their Ambassadors sung one Song in the Cabinet of the Prince, and another in the Cabals of the Opposition, till the whole Kingdom was in a Flame, and till between true Plots and sham Ones, no Man knew what Title he had to Safety? Who, I say, did all this, and ten Times more, but *France*?
Who

Who was it that cheated King *James* out of his Kingdoms, and forced even those who wish'd him best, to concur for their own Safety in such Measures as led him to an Abdication ; and who afterwards received that deluded Prince, and pretended to impose him on us as a Tyrant ; who if he would have ruled legally might have lived and died our Monarch ? who, I say, but *France* ? And who has ever since disturbed the present Government by Law establish'd, by open Invasions, by secret Conspiracies, now by avowing the Pretender to the Crown, and then by as *sincere* Pretences to desert his Interests, in order to recommend such Measures as were most likely to serve him ? Who, I say, but that perpetual *Proteus, France* ?

And now, Sir, let me ask you whether you think, after this hasty, this incorrect, this trifling Sketch of one Instance in a Hundred of her Treachery, any Man can doubt that if *Great-Britain* has any Sense or Feeling, she must have as honest, as hearty a Detestation for *France*, as she has Love for herself, and Duty to her Governors. You have heard no doubt that we have Debts, Taxes, and Grievances ; but, Sir, to whom do we owe them ? Our Debts were incurr'd in two long Wars, to defend ourselves against the Power of *France* ; most of our Taxes came in at the same Door ; and all our Corruption began *in*, and has been consequential *from, French* Practices. It is a melancholy Truth, but still a Truth it is, that we have been often forced to circumscribe our Liberties, that the Arts of *France* might not bring about Changes, that might have taken away all Liberty ; that we have been obliged to exclude for many Years together, a great Body of People from Places, to which they had as

much a Right as those who possessed them, exclusive of the Suspicion they had brought upon themselves, by an indiscreet, if not a criminal Complaisance for *France*. That we have been forced first into a long Circle of tedious, troublesome and expensive Negotiations, to fence against *French* Influence in the Councils at *Madrid*; and secondly into a long, uneasy, and ineffectual War to force a Power into a just Notion of her own Interests, which if she would but once understand, would secure ours. Thus you see, Sir, that every Evil we feel, as well as every Evil we have felt, every Mischief that we dread, as well as every Misfortune under which we suffer, spring all from the same Cause, and when traced to their Fountain Head, are justly charged upon *France*. We hate her, it is true; but that we do hate her, who can wonder?

That this Deduction of *French* Injuries and *French* Perfidies may appear less a Digression, give me leave to return to my Subject, by observing that they have by Degrees opened the Eyes of the whole Nation; and though we are, as the Inhabitants of all free Countries must be, split into a Multitude of Parties, yet there is not any Party, nay not a single Subdivision of any Party, that is not from Experience and Conviction an Enemy to *France*. The Whigs are professedly so from Principle; the Tories from repeated Proofs of her Falseness and Dissimulation; nay, the very Jacobites, formerly her staunchest Friends, are now among the bitterest of her Enemies; I mean such of them as can think, such of them as remember, that to *France* they owe all their past and present Misfortunes, all that they suffer at Home, the Contempt with which they are treated Abroad, and the Despair
they

they feel in their own Bosoms. It is therefore a Fact that cannot be questioned, that the general Disposition shewn to succour the Queen of *Hungary*, and thereby preventing the Execution of the *French* Plan for extending their Power, was a Measure dictated by the Hearts of all Parties, and not a temporary Start of Romantic Generosity, or of sudden Resentment. No, the Wrongs we have received from *France*, have been so various in their Nature, as well as so many in Number ; her Views have been constantly found so diametrically opposite to our Interest, and so directly calculated for subverting our Liberties at Home, and for ruining our Commerce Abroad, both which Designs have been avowed of late Years in Political Treatises dedicated to their greatest Ministers ; that not to be watchful of her Conduct, not to be diffident of her Proceedings, not to be jealous of every Increase of her Power, not to be ready to assist whatever Ally she first attack'd, must be esteemed a Political Lethargy, little short of total Stupefaction.

You may have heard, Sir, but why should I dissemble, you must have heard, Sir, from the Mouths of those who are always fond of proclaiming to Foreigners, what they call the Interests of their own Country, that we are betray'd whenever we meddle with foreign Concerns, that our Situation and our Navy are our natural Securities, and that behind these Barriers we may be safe not only from the Rage, but from all the Force of the Continent. That to us it is nothing which way the World goes Abroad, if Things go well at Home, that the Ballance of Power is a Cant Word, the Support of the House of *Austria* a Chimera, the universal Monarchy of *France* a Goblin ; and all these taken
together

together, a Set of artificial Sounds made use of by *Germanized* Knaves, to bambouzzle the Fools their Countrymen out of their Money. I am very sorry, Sir, to make use of such Language to a Person of your Character ; but, Sir, if the Sentiments of these Men be not express'd in their own Language, it is twenty to one but they will disown them ; nay, 'tis very great Odds that without a Repetition of the individual Phrases, you might yourself forget that these are the very Doctrines, which in every Coffee-house our Patriot Politicians have of late affected to maintain. You see, Sir, in a narrow Compass, in a few Words, and in their own Words, what it is misleads Foreigners, and what by the Artifice of evil-meaning, and by the Clamours of noisy Men, is imposed upon the World as the Sense of the *British* Nation.

But, Sir, be not deceived, these Notions are not, never were, or can be the Sense of the Nation. There never was a Parliament that avow'd them, nor can they be avow'd by Parliament, because those who assert them with greatest Violence in their Harangues, disbelieve them in their Hearts. In the Days of King *Charles II.* and in the Reign of *James II.* when there was a great Majority of Tories in Parliament, they professed the direct contrary ; and then, Sir, they spoke from their Hearts. They frequently advised the first of these Princes to act against *France*, and more than once they forced him to take that Advice ; which was what Sir *William Temple*, who loved the King and his Family, and never deserted them, told him, would make him *the King of his People*. But how King of his People ? Not surely by acting contrary to their Interests, against their Sentiments, and with a View to sacrifice the
Wealth

Wealth of this Nation for the Service of the House of *Austria*, or of any other House upon Earth, no Man can be stupid enough to believe this, and what then must he believe? why that the opposing *France*, and supporting the House of *Austria*, was the Interest of the *British* Nation in the Judgment of the *British* Nation. As for King *James* they rung this Truth in his Ear, till he would bear it no longer from them. And what follow'd then? Why truly, they would bear no longer with him, but sent him to live, not on the Charity, but on the Policy of that Power, to which he had sacrificed the Interests of the People, his own, and those of his Family. For, Sir, as you are a Stranger, give me leave to tell you, that that the very People, who now, or very lately, preached up this DOCTRINE, were those who sent King *James* a *grazing* (I make use of their own polite Expression) for having acted as if he believ'd it. And now, Sir, having shewn you the Time when they professed the contrary Opinion, I will next shew you HOW, WHY, and WHEN they changed it.

The *Tories*, Sir, were as deep in the Revolution as the *Whigs*, and somewhat deeper too, for a certain *Tory* Earl, who afterwards pretended to be something more than a *Tory*, advised the Prince of *Orange* at *Windsor* to confine, if not to——King *James*, which Advice his Highness rejected and resented, as became him. But the *Tories* after the Revolution finding themselves not rewarded to their Wish, which perhaps was impossible, faced about and opposed the Court. But as this could not be done upon their former Principles, since King *William* during his whole Reign acted steadily upon those Principles, they were forced to look out for new ones,

ones, and then, Sir, they first broached those Doctrines which I have just now mention'd. This was the Rise of the new System, which give me leave to say, is as absurd, as unintelligible; and as ridiculous, as from its Origin we might suppose it. For what is to be expected from Men, who in a fit of Passion desert their old Sentiments, and sit down to coin new ones. Give me leave to add, that their new Practices were of a Piece with their new Principles, and altogether as absurd, as unintelligible, and as ridiculous. For these very Men, who formerly professed their Aversion to *France*, and expelled King *James* for adhering to *France*, became themselves the Partizans of *France*, did her Business during that whole Reign, and by one means or other hinder'd her being brought as low, as for the Security of *Europe*, and the Safety of ourselves, she ought to have been brought, and would have been brought, by the first Grand Alliance, which they opposed, villify'd, and I might add something more, out of *Spight*, the only Principle they have adher'd to ever since.

The *Tories* at the Beginning of the next Reign turn'd about again, or rather return'd to their first Principle, they were hearty for the War, renounced their Intrigues with *France*, and behav'd once again like *Englismen*; but endeavouring to become too arbitrary at Court, and disdainig to do any thing, if they might not do all, they made the Queen so uneasy, that she would no longer bear them, just as they would no longer bear her Father; and thus a new Breach fell out, and then they took up their *new* Principles again, and swore them to be *old* ones. During both these Reigns, *Holland* stood where *Hanover* does now,

now, and for the very same Reason, because the Mob of all Countries are selfish, and those who would please a Mob must descend to *mean* Things, and insist upon it they are *great* Ones. The Alliance they said was made for the sake of the *Dutch*; every Measure of the War was taken for the Benefit of the *Dutch*; the Land and the Trade of this Nation were taxed and ruined for the *Dutch*; and in short all was sacrificed for the *Dutch*; while in Truth, the *Dutch* were sacrificing themselves for the common Cause; and, as they are very sensible since, involved their Revenues, and curtailed their Trade, that neither are like to recover in haste, which is the Reason they have not been so forward since. Give me leave to ask you, Sir, who are much better acquainted with the Matter than I, whether the Time is not come in which this is the very Case with *Hanover*? In this War, if any Sacrifice has been made, the Electorate has been sacrificed to the Kingdom; and whenever we see a Peace made, I will venture to prophecy, that whatever becomes of the Kingdom, the Electorate will not get a Penny, nor a Foot of Land by it, though it is very evident to all, who are acquainted with her Circumstances, that she has been sufficiently exhausted in the Quarrel, with which however she had nothing more to do than any other State in *Germany*; and the only Reason that can be assign'd, either for disliking or deserting her, is, that she has done more than the rest, follow'd her true Interest farther, and kept her Treaties better.

But to pursue my Subject. Be pleased to observe, Sir, that during the latter part of the Opposition made by the *Tories* to the late Ministry, they once more recognized their own Principle,

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declared against *France*, and went such Lengths in Favour of the House of *Austria*, as never any Men went but themselves, when they spirited up the late Emperor's Minister to affront the late King in a Memorial, and to scatter that Memorial among his Subjects. The great Topic of their Complaint then was the same they had used against *Charles* and *James*, that the Councils of these Kingdoms were directed by *France*, that the House of *Austria*, our natural Ally, was neglected; that the *Dutch* were forced against their Will into foolish Treaties, to which they acceded with bad Grace, and abundance more to the same Purpose; of the Truth of which if you enquire of your Bookseller, and have a large Closet to spare, I dare say he will fill it with authentic Evidence. In those Days, Sir, and those Days, if I may be allow'd the Expression, were but Yesterday, the Support of the House of *Austria* was no Chimera, the Ballance of Power no Cant Word, the Power of the House of *Bourbon* a living Giant and no Goblin; neither do I think it impossible that the present Generation may hear them profess the same Things again.

Upon the whole, Sir, as in common Life you do not credit a Man most when he is least in his Senses, or take those for his real Sentiments, which he delivers in the midst of Passion, or in a Fit of the Spleen, so if you will believe these People at all, you must believe what they said a long time ago, before they were out of their Senses, or what they once said in their lucid Intervals, and when there was some Colour for conceiving that they spoke their Minds. But if you are really a Convert, or should think fit to profess yourself so to this Patriot System of the new Stamp, as, if you take your Creed from
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the Exposition, I am afraid you will, then I must change my Style, and instead of proving to you that People have told you what they do not believe, I must shew you 'tis impossible they should believe it.

This, as it falls out, is no very difficult Task, for you must know, Sir, that all this new System is true in one Sense, and false in another ; which those who broach'd it knew very well, and have made all the use of it possible. If, Sir, the Powers on the Continent were equal, without question this System would be right, and *Great-Britain* ought to take no part in their Quarrels, because she might gain by being Friends with them all, and must lose by falling out with any of them. But this is plainly not the Case ; and all the Design of those who are warmest for the Queen of *Hungary*, and the Ballance of Power is to make this the Case. All that they desire, Sir, is to see Things so settled on the Continent, as that *Great-Britain* may have no Concerns in its Quarrels, that we may have nothing to do, but to mind our Affairs at Home, to secure our Liberties, and extend our Commerce. But this, Sir, is not to be done till *France* is reduc'd ; and those who would persuade us to the contrary, talk just as reasonably, as if they should exclaim at a Man for losing his Time, exhausting his Spirits, and throwing away his Money, for encouraging Firemen to assist in saving his Neighbour's House, when for twelve Hours he might safely employ himself in casting up his Books, sorting his Goods in his Warehouse, or pursuing the other Duties of his Profession. These are all Duties 'tis true, and no-body will defend a Man that neglects them, to attend his Neighbour's Concerns with which he has no Business.

But if there is a Fire within ten Doors, would he not think you mad if you were to harangue him to this Purpose ? and would he not answer you very rationally, *Sir, for God's sake let us see the Fire out, for that is my present Business.*

When therefore we coolly consider this Matter, it very plainly appears that all that is desirable in the *Self-preserving System* is pursued by those, who are for prosecuting the present War vigorously, and for reducing *France*, and the Friends of *France*, as low as the Justice of their Cause, and the Blessing of God upon it, by Force of Arms will allow. If this was once done, if the Power of the House of *Bourbon* was effectually circumscribed, if a proper Balance was established in *Germany*, in *Italy*, and in the *North*, we need not trouble ourselves with the Affairs of the Continent for a Century to come. We might have time to regulate all our domestick Concerns, and restore every Part of our decaying Constitution to its former Strength, and not leave it in the Power of two or three artful Heads of Factions to new mould at their Pleasure every Administration. We might then attend at Leisure to the necessary Means of depressing Luxury, and restoring Industry. We should soon be able to shake off the Load of Debts and Taxes ; to extend our Foreign Commerce, and do every thing that is wished and desired, by such as heartily *love their Country*, and do not make use of that *glorious Term* to express their Attachment to a Party.

But, Sir, what must be the Case, if we listen to the Advice given us in the *EXPOSITION*, or if we are deluded into pursuing the Principles laid down therein, let them come from what Hands they will. If we are once cheated into an Opinion that

that we set out wrong in this War, or that we have had too great Concern for the Affairs of *Germany*, there is an End of all our Hopes at Home and Abroad. We shall then do just what we did at the Close of the Queen's Reign, patch up a weak, unconnected, inglorious, unsustainable, and ruinous Peace, that will entail upon us a long Train of Negotiations, and make the Affairs of the Continent *a real Burthen*. This, Sir, is the Truth, and a Truth of such Importance to our political Salvation, that upon it, and it alone, it must depend. I know well enough that there are People here, who do not care to have this Truth publish'd in so clear a manner; but he who loves Truth and his Country cannot fear the Resentments of his Countrymen, for speaking the one for the sake of the other. There are indeed Times in which Truth ought not to be spoken too plainly; but these are so far from being those Times, that on the contrary they are such as require Truth to be set in the clearest Light, because if be not known, and pursued now, it is like to be buried in all Time to come.

To conclude then, for I dare say, Sir, you are tired, it is the Business of the High Allies to perfect what they have begun, to show the Ministry of the great Power in the *North*, that nothing can contribute so much to the thorough Establishment of the *Russian* Power, as the Destruction of the *French* Scheme, and the expelling the Influence, the pestiferous Influence, of that designing Court, out of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Poland*; for which there never was so fair an Opportunity as at present. To restore the Freedom, Independency, and Glory of the *German* Empire, by making the Head of it worthy
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of being stiled EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS. To maintain that Power in the full Enjoyment of its just Rights, which has been always the Bulwark of *Europe* against *Mohammedan* and *Christian* Tyranny ; and to support all the rest of the Princes and States of the Empire, in those Immunities that are derived to them from their Constitution. To secure the Peace and Prosperity of *Italy*, by obtaining such a share of Dominion for the King of *Sardinia*, as is necessary to prevent his ever being oppressed by *France* or *Spain* ; I do not say to procure for him what his personal Virtues and heroic Conduct in the present War deserves, for that might perhaps entitle him to all *Italy* ; and to put it out of the Power of any of the little Princes or States there, to betray their Country in succeeding Ages, as some of them have done in this. To oblige the Crown of *Spain* to perform her Treaties, and to be wise enough to preserve her *Indies*, by making a right Use of the Wealth she derives from them, and minding the Concerns of that People to whom they belong. To procure for the Maritime Powers whatever they have a Right to ask for the Security of their Foreign Commerce, and the Maintenance of their Liberties at Home. These, Sir, are the Ends, for which we ought to continue the War, let it cost what it will ; and the effectually *answering* these *Ends* is what the BRITISH NATION have a *Right to expect* from a PEACE.

Thus, Sir, in return for your Master's *Exposition*, which was plainly calculated for the People of this Kingdom, I have given you a clear Account, and I dare affirm a true one, of the Principles and Views of all our Parties, of the

the true Ground of what you esteem our Prejudice in Favour of the House of *Austria*, of the just Causes of our Hatred to *France*, and of our Readiness to take every Occasion to oppose the ambitious Designs of a Neighbour, constantly employed in plotting our Destruction; of the real Interest of this Nation at Home and Abroad, of the genuine Meaning of *Great Britain's* minding its own Concerns, of the Necessity of prosecuting the War with the same View on which it was begun, and the proper Objects of our Attention, whenever Negotiations are in earnest begun, for bringing about a general Peace; and in doing this, Sir, I have spoken with the Freedom becoming a *Briton*, unbiassed by the Prejudices of one Party, or the hopes of pleasing another; and, as far as my Abilities will give me leave, acquainting you with the true Sense of the honest Men of all Parties.

How far this, Sir, may be acceptable to you I know not, nor am I much concern'd about it. The Pamphlet you directed to be publish'd very fully justifies this Answer; as well as the Liberty I take of subscribing myself,

S I R,

Your very humble Servant,

BRITANNUS.

